

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-10 ARA-10  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01  
PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 NRC-05 /142 W  
-----012502 081329Z /47

R 081251Z SEP 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1244  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 14678

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, CCD, GW  
SUBJECT: FRG-SOVIET DISARMAMENT TALKS, SEPT. 1-2, 1977

REFS: (A) BONN 14646; (B) USMISSION GENEVA 5371

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS ARE PRESSING THE FRG TO SIGN A BILATERAL DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT THIS FALL. DURING TWO DAYS OF TALKS IN MOSCOW THEY WERE UNYIELDING IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO A CTB WITHOUT PNE'S, WHILE SOMEWHAT FLEXIBLE ON THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL FOR AN INITIAL THREE-PARTY AGREEMENT. THE SOVIETS ALSO SHOWED SOME GIVE ON THE QUESTION OF RESTRUCTURING THE CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP. THEY CONTINUED TO ARGUE FOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. MBFR WAS DISCUSSED ONLY MARGINALLY AND SALT NOT AT ALL. END SUMMARY.

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1. FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER RUTH AND FONOFF WORLD-WIDE DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL OFFICE DIRECTOR ANDREAE VISITED MOSCOW FROM SEPT. 1-2 FOR TALKS ON DISARMAMENT IN THE UN CONTEXT (FONOFF UN DIRECTOR REDIES CONDUCTED PARALLEL TALKS ON OTHER UN ISSUES). THE SOVIET DELEGATION WAS LED BY SOVIET AMB. ISRAELYAN. THE TALKS, WHICH WERE NOT SPECIFICALLY GEARED TO THE BREZHNEV

VISIT, WERE AGREED TO BY GENSCHER AND GROMYKO DURING THEIR MAY, 1977 MEETING. THE FRG EXPECTS THE DISCUSSIONS TO BE REPEATED NEXT YEAR.

2. THE SOVIETS URGED THE FRG TO SIGN A BILATERAL DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT. WHILE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSED DECLARATION WAS DISCUSSED ONLY BRIEFLY, THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY WANT SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THE DECLARATIONS THEY SIGNED WITH FRANCE AND THE UK. THEY WANT, IN PARTICULAR, TO FOCUS ON NON-PROLIFERATION. THE FRG DEL SUGGESTED THAT DISARMAMENT COULD BE ADDRESSED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. FRG POL. DIR. BLECH WILL PURSUE THE MATTER DURING HIS TALKS NEXT WEEK IN MOSCOW (REF A). ANDREAE TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WORKING LEVEL IS OPPOSED TO A BILATERAL DECLARATION. HE SPECULATED THE SOVIETS WERE TRYING TO PLAY THE ALLIES OFF AGAINST EACH OTHER THROUGH DECLARATIONS WITH DIFFERING FORMULATIONS ON KEY ISSUES.

3. ON CTB, THE SOVIETS SAID THE US POSITION OF A TREATY WITHOUT A PNE SOLUTION WAS "UNACCEPTABLE." THEY MAINTAINED IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN A PNE DEVICE AND A NUCLEAR WEAPON AND SAID THEY WOULD "PROVE THIS TO THE US" DURING THE TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN OCTOBER.

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4. THE SOVIETS SAID THEY HAD REQUESTS "FROM OTHER COUNTRIES" FOR PNE'S. THEY SPECIFIED NEITHER NAMES NOR NUMBERS AND THE GERMANS DID NOT PROBE.

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
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PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 NRC-05 /142 W

-----012478 081328Z /47

R 081251Z SEP 77

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1245

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 14678

5. ACCORDING TO ANDREAE, THE SOVIETS QUESTIONED THE VALUE OF A CTB WITHOUT FRANCE AND CHINA, BUT LEFT THE IMPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL FOR AN INITIAL THREE-PARTY AGREEMENT.

6. REGARDING THE CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, THE GERMANS DETECTED, FOR THE FIRST TIME, SOME SOVIET FLEXIBILITY. ISRAELYN INITIALLY OPPOSED THE MEXICAN PROPOSAL, BUT AFTER SOME DISCUSSION SAID MOSCOW MIGHT BE WILLING TO CONSIDER IT IF THE "BALANCE OF POWER WERE KEPT." ANDREAE BELIEVES THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE RECEPTIVE TO AN ENLARGEMENT OF REPRESENTATION SO LONG AS THE US AND USSR RETAIN DE FACTO DECISION-MAKING POWER.

7. THE SOVIETS WERE RESIGNED TO THE SSOD BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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TINUED TO PUSH FOR A FOLLOW-ON WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. ISRAELYAN WAS VAGUE ON EXACTLY WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD IN MIND AND WAS UNABLE TO EXPLAIN HOW THE CONFERENCE WOULD RELATE TO THE CCD. HE REFERRED IN GENERAL TERMS TO A CONFERENCE SIMILAR TO LOS WITH PARALLEL COMMITTEES ON DIFFERENT TOPICS. THE FRG BELIEVES THE SOVIETS ARE ANXIOUS TO GET DISARMAMENT OUT OF THE UN FORUM BUT HAVE YET TO DEVELOP THEIR IDEAS.

8. ANDREAE, WHO WAS NOT PRESENT FOR THE CW TALKS, TOLD US THE SOVIETS HAD STRESSED THEIR OPPOSITION TO ON-SITE INSPECTION.

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009